5: Schwimmer E-4;5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

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TABLE II/8

ENROLMENT IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS OF THE ANGLICAN MISSION IN THE NORTHERN DISTRICT

(*Source*: Department of Education, Popondetta)

	1966	*1967 (Est.)*
Preparatory Classes	1,775	1,845
Standard 1	1,290	1,307
Standard 2	1,563	1,581
Standard 3	1,278	1,298
Standard 4	1,275	1,310
Standard 5	693	708
Standard 6	488	498
Total	8,362	8,547

Note: Some schools offered classes up to Standard 2, some up to Standard 3, some up to Standard 4, while only a few schools offered classes beyond that level. Children unable to obtain transfers to schools offering classes at a higher level might stay at school for a year or more after finishing the highest available grade. This explains the unusual statistical pattern.

development. By 1967 two important moves had been made: the arterial road between Buna and Kokoda was being rebuilt and linked to the main coffee-producing villages by a system of access roads, built with the assistance of taxes raised in villages. 648 657 491

The educational services have not, so far, been very closely integrated with economic development goals. Many of the schools in the Northern District are conducted by the Mission. While the objectives of many of the Mission schools are still primarily religious, and the teaching staff has only rudimentary training, some of them do prepare students for further education at the secondary level, and provide recruits for skilled occupations. The Sasembata school attended by Sivepe children falls within that category. Chances of passing a qualifying examination for secondary schooling are good and from that point adequate financial assistance is usually available to students. Villages such as Hohorita and Inonda, lacking such opportunities, and having access to only two or three years of elementary schooling, cannot hope to have any but the brightest students advance to secondary education. As the language of instruction is English in all schools, those who do not advance beyond elementary grades do not become acquainted with concepts relevant to development objectives.[1 2] 871 872 797 [191]

Local Government Council. The Higaturu Local Government Council, formed in 1956, serves about 15,000 Orokaiva, comprising the Popondetta, Sohe-Popondetta and Saiho census divisions. In 1966 the main activities of the 657

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177 Christ and perhaps other supreme sources of which they have no knowledge, but
657 these ultimate sources mostly seem inaccessible to the Orokaiva; the people
[789] know their information to be poor and unreliable. Nonetheless, as the councillor from Hohorita remarked, it has been found by experience that the gifts deriving from the government have often been good ones. The relationship is therefore worth maintaining as it may produce further valuable gifts in the future. (This widely held opinion, incidentally, is the bane of Papuan progressives, who are pressing for immediate independence of the Territory from Australian rule).

Although, in an attempt to make my meaning clear, I have spoken of the magic of 'development', it is important to point out that the term 'development' has not been borrowed, to my knowledge, in Orokaiva speech. The Orokaiva term is *iji eha* (the new day), a phrase occurring, for instance, in the passage quoted from Councillor Ase's address. The *iji eha* has come about, as we have seen, as the result of the gifts of a new *dema*, Jesus Christ. One of these gifts was a permanent peace, to replace the permanent state of *isoro* of earlier days. But this gift was accompanied by new commandments. Councillor Ase emphasised the casual connection between the gift and the commandments: 'As a new day has now arrived (*oroho evi iji eha avo eto*,), I tell you to be united.' Like *isoro*, so the *iji eha* requires unity, but for the sake of struggles of a different kind: the building of a new village, the growing of coffee and rubber, the support of school education. The commandments of the *iji eha* are in effect community development.

177 It may thus be said without hyperbole that community development among
657 the Orokaiva has a mythological charter – namely, the Christian religion as the
797 Orokaiva understand it. It acts as a mediating element between the Orokaiva and the European power-bearers: it is the magic whereby a relation of social exchange may be established between the former and the latter and whereby the Orokaiva may eventually become the equals of the white man in wealth and power.

177 But the second mediating element in this relationship is the councillors,
657 through whom the government's information must pass to reach the people.
623 They do not play the role of leaders but of mediators in a rather limited sense. In their contact with the government (mainly confined to contact with the advisory officer to the council), they receive information and hear council decisions in the formulation of which they generally have no part. The flow of information tends to be from the government to the councillors rather than in the reverse direction. This one-sidedness suits both parties, but especially the councillors, who gain little but may lose much by adding to the government's knowledge. At the village level, the councillor tends to become the chief mouthpiece of the *iji eha*. He is expected to report faithfully, and in detail, what he has heard from the government. His advice will be asked on matters related to council activities, but most of the time it is the councillor himself who takes the initiative and harangues the villagers. He does not expect all his advice to be accepted; he may even have private doubts about some of what he is
[191] transmitting. A Sivepe ex-councillor even had the habit of reporting on all council matters in Motu, a *lingua franca* used at council meetings because the advisory officer does not know Orokaiva. Most Sivepe people understand some
[554] Motu. By speaking in Motu to his fellow-villagers, the councillor built up his own

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status while at the same time establishing some distance between his official performance and his private self. Even when a councillor does not resort to so extreme a device, his role is a highly formalised one, as the values underlying his message are very strange to him. The *iji eha*, as communicated at the council meeting, is almost outside his mental grasp. He has heard the details but cannot see the pattern. (The council meetings are not suited to the communication of the complex patterns of Western civilisation.) Fortunately his audience is usually warm and sympathetic to his message and shares with him the mood, the 'feeling' of the *iji eha*, if little else.

4. *The New Day, the Mission and Divine Retribution*

Relationships with the mission in the Northern District have usually been of two main types. When a mission station was first established, exchange relations between Orokaiva and the station began immediately. The mission offered schooling, medical services and largesse of various sorts. The Orokaiva offered land and labour. These were direct exchanges requiring no mediating elements. The mission was usually in no great hurry to begin baptising converts, preferring to let interested persons rise gradually from the status of hearer to catechist and conferring baptism some years later. Although coastal stations were established around the turn of the century, it was only after the Second World War, when a considerable number of stations and outstations were established inland, that the majority of Orokaiva came within reach of mission influence. The Sasembata station[5] serving Sivepe was not opened until 1945 and had no baptisms until 1953. The bulk of the population of that village was converted between 1953 and 1964.

It was then that the second, and more complex, phase of the relationship started. In the first phase there had been a great deal of contact between people and mission station, especially because of the educational services that were offered, but it was only in the second phase that these contacts became religiously significant. We may express the emerging relationship in the following diagram:

MODEL 8

Although this exchange cycle seems, on the surface, to represent more or less the relationship between any Christian and his Church, it seems arbitrary to select from the complex set of mediating elements enriching the fullness of such a relationship as commonly understood just these two sacraments, important as they are. It is only in the light of the Orokaiva understanding of the Church that

worked for eight. This became an important basis for resentment and discontent among the workers.

The arrival of Rev. Clint in 1948 ushered in a period of dynamic growth in the co-operative movement in the district. He had a deep interest in co-operatives, and had been associated in Australia with the Christian Socialist Movement. He was specifically recruited by the mission to organize agricultural co-operatives and within three weeks of his arrival he had held meetings with the members of three of the co-operatives and had discussed future development with the District Agricultural Officer, Mr Cockshott. In mid-May he commenced a weekly co-operatives instruction class covering co-operative leadership, history of co-operatives, basic techniques, book-keeping and English.

Rev. Clint was insistent that Christian ritual be associated with co-operative action. Educational and committee meetings always closed with a special prayer, there were church services at which tools were blessed and newly planted seed was blessed in the gardens. This aspect of the co-operative movement was regarded with some apprehension by Administration officers who felt that it could be misunderstood by the Papuans and possibly lead to the development of a cargo cult. There was some evidence to suggest that a cult did in fact begin. Money was collected surreptitiously (its disposal was never explained), and in the opinions of some observers there was a belief among some participants that the mere formation of co-operatives and the routine performance of the work required would magically raise the Papuans in a short time to the status of Europeans. On the other hand, there was evidence to support the view that the people in their desire to improve their economic position saw co-operatives as the channel and adopted the idea wholeheartedly. There is something of both these views in the statement of the ex-chairman, who said: 'We wanted to be like other civilised countries and earn money by working together.'

In November 1948 there were 25 acres under dry rice at Gona No.1, and 10 acres under taro, 6 acres of rice and one acre of peanuts at Gona No.2. Similar areas were under crop at the other co-operatives. The first harvest in early 1949 appears to have been a success. On his return from leave in March 1949, Rev. Benson spoke of 'barns and storehouses bursting with rice, people happily busy...true comradeship and Christian co-operation'.

In August 1949 the first four co-operatives in the Territory were registered.[1] They were, in order: Yega, Gona, Garara and

[1] This registration was made under the terms of draft legislation. It was not confirmed by the Registrar of Co-operatives under the finally approved legislation, the Co-operative Societies Ordinance 1950.

other rites which are still based largely on traditional precedents. 574
tapa cloths, arm-bands, necklaces and head-dresses are de rigeur, 292
but informants stated that a birthday party was different, as it 177
was a European institution.

The language most frequently used was Pidgin as most of the 574
labourers came from various parts of New Guinea, but the local 191
people spoke between themselves in Orokaiva. Police Motu, the 198
official lingua franca of Papua, was heard quite frequently and
the notice about donations was written in that language. While
the non-Orokaiva people conversed freely in lingue franche, the
less prominent of the Orokaiva people kept largely to themselves.

The only indigenous musical instrument present was a single 574
drum, but it was not played. When asked why there were not more 534
drums, those present expressed mild contempt for them and explained
that there would be guitars. All the music, which continued almost
nonstop from dusk on Saturday until daylight Sunday, was provided
by six or eight guitars owned and played by the indentured labourers
present. There were no skilled guitarists, and the band merely 574
strummed a basic rhythm which changed little during the course of 533
the evening. The repertoire of songs was not extensive and most
were repeated many times. All of them were either popular Western
or modern Polynesian tunes, some sung to Pidgin words, other to
English words and a few to Orokaiva words.

Most of the young men danced, some of them almost constantly, 574
but very few knew any pattern of steps. The majority were attempt- 535
ing to dance modern style Polynesian dancing which had been learned [177]
indirectly from the Samoan, Cook Island and Tongan missionaries who
served along the south coast of Papua (though not in the Orokaiva
area). The one man who could perform a particular Samoan men's
dance quite well had learned it directly from a Samoan missionary
several years ago. Some individuals tried to dance traditional
Orokaiva steps but were not particularly successful owing to the
foreign nature of the music. Several men from New Guinea attempted
ballroom dancing which they had seen performed by Europeans in New
Guinea, and in films.

Of a total of approximately 130 adults present, only about 20 574
were women. While the discrepancy was partly accounted for by the 562
number of male contract labourers, most of the relatives of the
hosts who attended were also men. Few of the settlers or other
visitors brought their wives (unless the latter had relatives at
Inonda). The cooking was done by a group of five women, while the
others remained in the shadows.

The music and entertainment were almost exclusively the pre- [533]
rogative of the men. No woman joined the band of guitarists and [535]
singers at any time, and none attempted to dance until about 10 p.m.

177 higher certificate after a two-year course, while various teacher
657 training programmes were involving a number of them. Furthermore,
647 the inspector in charge of the school and, after January, 1967, also
[895] the District Inspector of Schools was a Papuan. Thus, in the Church as well as in the Health and Education Department, Papuans were in actual administrative control over Northern District operations, with white personnel nominally their subordinates. The term "nominally" must be applied to the relative rank of Papuan controllers and expatriate subordinates, because the latter are still receiving a very much higher salary. Nonetheless, the new situation definitely sets up a hierarchy, with Papuans at senior levels, and the village people are in official contact with them.

[631] I shall give two further examples of contacts with Papuan public servants. The first was with a clerk sent out by the Department of Lands, whose task it was to organise the establishment of boundaries between the wards. This man was an Orokaiva, from Jegarata, who explained the purpose of the boundaries in the Orokaiva language, at a meeting held in Garoubi and supposedly attended by all the villages in the ward. A spirited discussion took place, the people suggested village representatives, the clerk accepted the representatives proposed for Sivepa and Garoubi, but was non-committal over the other two, as he saw Isoga and Binduta were [276] insufficiently represented. He chewed betelnut with the people; the whole procedure was matter-of-fact and businesslike, and no covering-up was attempted for the two ill-represented villages.
● [191] The absence of an interpreter, the use of Orokaiva instead of the lingua franca (Motu), the free use of betelnut, the fact that we all sat on mats together--all this established an easy bridge between government and people.

242 During the same period, a good deal of agricultural extension
177 work was in progress in the nearby village of Sasembata. Here again, the day-to-day instruction was given by two Northern District Papuans, agricultural assistants, in a rather more junior position to the Lands Department clerk. These two young men were definitely supervised by an expatriate officer; they were staying in Sasembata village for awhile and came over to Sivepa one night for a small feast and a dance. Though they were both Aiga, they mixed easily with their Orokaiva agemates, on a basis of equality and familiarity. They were the guests of a third agricultural assistant, who belonged to Sasembata village but were working for the Department at Saiho. This young man gave me a description of the scope of agricultural development (a rubber cooperative) proceeding in Sasembata. He had a mature and responsible understanding of the project.

657 Finally, Papuan government drivers had highly significant
647 though informal contacts with villagers. These men, highly skilled
177 at negotiating the difficult roads of the Northern District, have the task of driving government personnel where they wish to go and often travel unaccompanied by officers to collect personnel or cargo.

in its attitude to culture contact, is somewhat homogeneous, Inonda is deeply split between a Christian and a Pagan faction, and it is the Christian faction which is involved in coffee growing, the cattle project, the government sponsored women's club and wage labour whereas outside contacts for the pagan faction are truly minimal.

The changes which have occurred in the pattern of outside contacts in Sivepe between the eruption and the present all involved changes in ideology. This is true for the pattern of inter-village cooperation and the interaction with Papuan functionaries no less than for the trade-store movement. It is an ideology referred to by the Orokaiva as "iji eha," "the new day" and it carries with it an acceptance of Christianity, the objectives of the Local Government Councils and the tenets of economic development. This ideology is as readily expressed by the Christians of Inonda as it is by the people of Sivepe.

Not only is this ideology of European origin, but the new types of contact that are being made among Papuans can be traced back, in almost every instance, to white men's actions. Generally, the village man or woman has but a minimal direct contact with the white man and such direct contact as does occur is liable to involve a minimal communication of ideas. Because of the language barrier, an interpreter is, at the very least, required as intermediary between white man and Orokaiva. Simple, direct communications can be effectively made in Motu which most Orokaiva understand and which many Europeans speak to some extent. Modern circumstances, however, increasingly demand the communication of more complex messages than can be transmitted by that medium, as used at present. More commonly, Papuan members of formal organisations act as middlemen for more complex messages.

It seems best to describe at the outset the pattern as I observed it in Sivepe in 1966-7--the pattern in Inonda and other villages was very similar--and then compare this to the pattern of 1951 and the rather untypical situation in the evacuation camps.

All white men are known by the collective appellation and reference term taupa, but the roles in which taupa are truly familiar to the Orokaiva are few. Most taupa are government servants, traders, missionaries, soldiers. In Sivepe the white government servants most frequently encountered were: the patrol officer, the agricultural officer, the magistrate, the advisory officer of the Higaturu council; higher officials stationed in Popondetta were mostly known by rumour. The head teacher of the local mission school and his wife were both taupa; everyone was familiar with taupa planters and storekeepers. An unusual and very highly respected taupa, indeed a man to whom one never heard the term taupa applied, so well liked was he, was the superintendent of the Saiho hospital who took part in the Christmas dance at Saiho in Orokaiva costume, together with his wife, and who was invited to village feasts at which he ate with

177 fraternised with them. In fact, the friendly atmosphere created by
829 both the American and Australian troops during the war gave the Orokaiva
769 a different view of Europeans than they had before and must have greatly assisted the acceptance of the economic development ideology and local government council movement in the 1950's and 1960's. A
[415] great proportion of the cooking pots, adzes and other steel tools found in the villages today were gifts from the Americans.

769 In all the villages I visited, people listened to the news
829 broadcasts in Motu and Pidgin English; hence they heard about the Vietnam war and we discussed it a few times. The reaction was strange:
[207] it was a great pity that those American boys were being killed in Vietnam, because they were wonderful people. There was distinct
[191] disappointment that the Americans had decided to go to Vietnam instead of returning to Papua-New Guinea. Some jealousy was felt towards the Vietnamese who had now been thus favoured. I tried to assuage the disappointment felt by my informants by summarising some facts from the Manchester Guardian Weekly, my only source of knowledge at the time, but I could see that the convictions of the Orokaiva on this point were unshakable; they knew some things about the Americans which I was (or pretended to be) ignorant of.

Section 10: Self-Group Image

829 The self-group image of the Orokaiva has undergone a profound
[198] change since the war. The question that we need to investigate here is the extent to which the eruption experience affected this long-term change. The most useful procedure will therefore be, as in Section 8,
121 to set out first the present self-group image and its general development
128 over the last few decades; secondly, to place the data we have on the period immediately following the disaster in the framework of this general development.

829 Like other peoples I have personally studied (the New Zealand Maori and the Canadian Indian), the Orokaiva have been the recipients of a barrage of propaganda on the part of missionaries and government officials, who were critical of Orokaiva material standards, social customs and religious beliefs. They also supplied severe sanctions against those who did not change their material standards and customs while considerable inducements were held out to those who would. The Maori and the Blood Indians, while complying on the whole with the demands of the whites, at the same time retained a strong belief in the greatness and, often also, the superiority of their old customs. I was therefore surprised that the Orokaiva had nothing good to say about their own past, representing it as a nightmare from which they were glad to have escaped, while the teachings of the Europeans as well as their goods, provided an opportunity--the only known opportunity--for vast improvement.

87| According to the Papua Report, "The core of the curriculum is training in the basic skills of communication and mathematics." (1966: 100) Of these two subject areas, mathematics is taught by a syllabus which will probably be widely applauded by educationalists. Australia has for some years made important research contributions to mathematical education. One of the most outstanding of Australian educators, Dr. Z. P. Dienes, was invited in 1964 to prepare a mathematics syllabus for Territory schools, introducing the "new mathematics approach." In 1966, this syllabus became officially accepted and the basis of the government examinations. Short courses for practising teachers were held, in the Northern District, during the summer holidays of 1966-67.
[815] The Australian mission teacher in charge of Sasembata school also went and came back with a tale which will not surprise connoisseurs of the "new mathematics": he found that the Papuan teachers grasped the principles more quickly than those, like himself, who had been well educated in "traditional" mathematics.

87| In the language field, the Australians have taken the fateful
● 191 decision to make English the language of instruction in schools and the "universal language in the Territory." This is not the place to discuss this strange decision to which S. A. Wurm has recently devoted a clear and authoritative critique which seems to me unanswerable. (1966: 135-148) The key sentence of this critique is that the English language "constitutes a reference system to a culture whose very essence is completely alient to the natives, and it abounds in concepts they cannot even begin to understand on first being confronted by them." The textbooks used in the primary school attempt to overcome this difficulty by an emphasis on formal English, using the structural method, and devoting much attention to the memorising and to some extent the manipulation and transformation of pattern sentences. There is heavy reliance on memory work and very much less reliance on conversational English and creative expression. The teachers explained to me that this bias was inevitable in view of examination pressures. It was amazing, nonetheless, to hear Standard 6 students learning very simple pattern sentences by rote by the whole class saying 20 times or more in unison: "We are going to Paris" (wherever that is). I am not critical at all of the teachers at the Sasembata school, who achieved an impressively high percentage of passes (far above the average) in the government examinations. It is not difficult to understand, however, that these students could not communicate anything very useful in English to, for instance, myself and my wife. The system is, of necessity, a great waste of the children's intelligence. The small minority who later go to Port Moresby or enter European employment will find their knowledge of English useful but the great majority, who need to be equipped for a life in Sivepe and surrounding villages, do not benefit so much from the content of their lessons as from literacy (in their own vernacular), from their experience of the school situation, its relationships and values, and many incidental observations of white customs and attitudes which are most influential acculturative

experiences. The problem remains how ideas bearing on social and economic development can be systematically communicated. When I asked Orokaiva people what language they thought ought to be made official after independence is granted, English was hardly ever suggested. Some said Motu, others Pidgin. I was impressed, however, with the meticulous care the Orokaiva bestow upon their own vernacular. Most of my informants could help me to get Orokaiva texts spelled correctly (and their advice hardly ever conflicted); they were most precise about correcting my grammar and would laugh irrepressibly when a man made a grammatical slip in a speech recorded on tape--this was a joke for days. I would therefore agree with Wurm that a language such as Orokaiva (spoken by at least 25,000) should be used for literacy work and for elementary education.

Teachers are trained both in the mission and the government system, but the mission system is primarily aimed at training in Bible knowledge, religious doctrine and Christian values. In the early years of the mission any promising pupil, with two or more years of elementary schooling, might be chosen for training as a mission teacher. Certainly he would get some coaching in how to teach school, but the emphasis was above all religious. More recently, a number of courses were set up by government and mission teachers were encouraged to enter for such courses. The A course is open to men with a Standard 6 education and takes one year. The B course is open to men with a Form 2 education and takes two years. The administration insists on an A certificate as a minimum qualification; in the Northern District, new appointees were usually expected to have a B certificate. The mission is less fortunate; in 1966 in the Northern District, only 97 out of 274 mission teachers had either an A or a B certificate. Out of the Sasembata staff of 12, five were trained; out of the Hohota staff of four, one was trained.

The educational qualifications of the teachers are one more reason why it is hard to teach with English as the language of instruction; most of these teachers speak little English themselves. English is their third-best language (next to vernacular and lingua franca) and most of them, even if they come from other districts, will still have more command of Orokaiva and Motu than of English. Many of those at Sasembata came from the Coastal district so that their vernacular was not Orokaiva, but a tongue closely akin to Orokaiva. Those who meet their pupils outside school would not speak English to them then, this being the least effective way they would have of communicating with each other.

Teachers' salaries are a subject that has continued to puzzle me. Government teachers are paid according to a scale the bottom of which, in 1965, was $480 per annum. The mission pays $4 per month to Papuan teachers and $12 per month to expatriate teachers. In addition all mission teachers receive free housing, some gardening land to grow taro, occasional distribution of fringe benefits, such as Christmas gifts of used clothing from Australian supporters of the mission. In

652 expected to levy. He wrote his Bishop that he would not collect the
871 tax. His letter seems to have been only one trickle in a river of non-cooperation and I never found out whether the government prevailed over the missions.

971 This controversy casts some light on Orokaiva attitudes to education. By standards of Orokaiva wealth, parents are making a
[431] major voluntary contribution in money, labour and materials, not with the idea of "paying for their children's eduction," but in order to make appropriate return gifts for the services rendered by the mission. The principle governing this transaction is reciprocity, but not contract. Thus, the Orokaiva contribution to their children's educatin differs from a tax in three crucial ways:

(a) It is specifically given to the mission, towards whom the people feel an obligation and not to the government, to which they do not feel beholden for their children's education. (This obstacle could be overcome only if the government succeeded in explaining the Department of Education budget in the villages.)

(b) It is regarded as voluntary, according to the principle
[558] of reciprocity. People contribute from goodwill and generosity, the only possible sanction for a non-contributor being a diminution of social status. (If an education tax is levied, the sanction is refusal to admit children to schools. This rule already applies in administration schools.)

(c) Contributions are made only partly in cash, but consist mainly of labour and materials which are not readily marketable in the villages. (If the payment is entirely in cash, this cash has to be earned outside the village or by cash-cropping. Resources such as sago and blackpalm cannot be used as a contribution to education.)

I have shown at various points in this report that Orokaiva value their children's school education highly. In Sasembata district, the men worked for the mission long before anyone was baptised and their motive was, as they told me, to see that their children could
[829] go to school. When I asked why they wished this, they answered that this was the only chance for the children to be able to obtain the same wealth as the Europeans and become equally powerful. It is consistent with this reasoning that the Orokaiva have never been very disturbed by what may seem to us the strange policy of conducting lessons in the English language. It has so far been enough for the Orokaiva to see that the only Papuans who have obtained wealth and power have been those who were educated in the school and who have
[191] gained some knowledge of English. It is only among the educated Orokaiva that one hears arguments for the Papuans and New Guineans being educated in a language of their own.

462 women can carry produce to market. Coffee, however, is in a different
[562] category because the bags are of a special type, supplied by the coffee
422] factory and a specifically male property.

Section 3: Education, Occupational Skills, Money Income

241 In the last section, dealing with the division of labour, I
613 did not introduce the question whether there were differences in this
614 respect between the various social groups--lineages and clans. The main differentiation noted by earlier authors was that between cash-croppers and those engaging only in subsistence gardening. Now in this respect there was no noticeable difference between clans in Sivepe: out of 1,100 coffee trees growing in Sivepe in 1962, 503 belonged to Jegase and Timumu and the rest to Seho, while in Inonda the coffee growers belonged to two Andiriha lineages. In Sivepe today most men grow coffee, and this applies equally to the Jegase, Seho and Sorovi clans; the exceptions are elderly people. There are, however, very significant differences in other respects between socio-economic patterns in the Jegase and Seho clans--differences which are obvious even on very superficial inquiry.

614 A minor imbalance in the age distribution of the two clans is
561 noticed at once from the statistics: the Jegase householders are predominantly in the 35-45 year age group whereas Seho is predominantly
[535] a little older (45-55 years). Hence the dance group formed in Sivepe is at present almost wholly composed of men of the Jegase clan. The
[177] age difference happens to be very significant in various indices of
[871] acculturation, as the first school was established at Sasembata in 1945, and the custom of looking for wage labour outside the district
[167] did not become widespread until about the same time. While some Jegase people know some English, none of the Seho people over 35 speak any
●[191] at all. Furthermore, the first village constable and the first councillor in Sivepe were both Jegase men who had taken up employment well before the second world war. During the years they held these posts (1939-1965), Seho had much less contact with government.

614 The statistics (Table 20) show that Jegase male adults have
463 slightly more school education than Seho adults but a great deal more occupational experience. This experience, for both clans, did not include work requiring much formal training; it was labour on rubber and cocoa plantations, on the roads, assistance with land surveys,
[179] laundry work, service as a "houseboy," and in the A.P.C. Nonetheless, an intelligent man thrown into these kinds of situation can find out a good deal about the outside world; in later dealings with external agencies, he is able to make more informed judgments. A further opportunity for such experience was offered the Jegase clan when the Australian National University, which made Sivepe into a sample village for several studies (see below, Chapter VII), decided to concentrate

A [See Cat. 116, p. 227--Analyst]

government driver) had gone there and continued at Martyr's school at Sangara. He survived because the mountain erupted during the school holidays. At Sivepe, some children had started going to the Jasembata school, opened in 1945, but attendance was irregular. Nonetheless, there were few people under 30 in 1966, who had not had some schooling.

Goods such as meat, sugar, tobacco were known in Sivepe at the time of the eruption, and bought in trade stores; some people used European pots and others used clay pots. By 1966, all regular production of clay pots in Sivepe had ended; they were not even included ceremonially in bridewealth. It was always the young men, away on labouring jobs, who introduced the innovations in material culture, who brought their mothers and new wives European pots, who came home flaunting European clothes, who first used nails in building their houses. In Inonda, at the time of the eruption, the young men were already wearing "trousers"; in Sivepe, this came later, at the time of the local government council. In both villages, this same association was stressed: the European cloths were accepted for village wear at the time the council started and the example was set not only by the bachelors returning from town but also by the councillors themselves. There was a councillor resident in both villages in the years immediately following 1956; it was their influence that tipped the balance in dress innovation.

At the time of the eruption, cash cropping had not yet started at all in Sivepe, but at Inonda, one man (the father of the present government driver) was already selling coffee for which he was paid $3 per bag by the government. The government also bought copra from him which he prepared by breaking up coconuts and drying them in a fire. He stopped this trade at the time of the eruption but resumed in 1954. In Sivepe, coffee growing started in 1956 on two "company" plots. It was in other words a community activity rather than a case of individual entrepreneurship. Rimoldi (1966: 84) reports that individual coffee gardens started in 1957 only after patrol officers advised against having jointly operated ones.

It is not easy to say just how much linguistic knowledge had been absorbed before the eruption, or even now. If one asks a man what languages he knows, he lists all those he has had contact with on his travels; always Motu, not infrequently Pidgin, and also often an assortment of New Guinea languages marking the spots where he has worked. Wherever a man works, he learns some of the language, but his knowledge rarely passes exacting tests. Orokaiva men who said they knew Aiga could not actually translate the Aiga texts I taped into Orokaiva. It would be most interesting to do research on the actual knowledge of these Papuan polyglots. In a country where so many languages are spoken, communication between persons with different vernacular is a crucial process. There is no doubt that travelling Orokaiva make a great effort to adapt themselves to the regions they visit. If they have personal contact with their employers, they learn a great deal from them too. From the data I have presented it is plain that travel has been the major acculturative influence among the Orokaiva.